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## IS SECTIONALISM IN AMERICA DYING AWAY?<sup>1</sup>

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A satisfactory discussion of whether American sectionalism is dying away, demands inquiry into what sectionalism has been in this country, and what are its bases; after this has been attempted, prediction will find a ground on which to act. Mindful of the traditions of the historical craft, I shall offer some suggestions on the preliminary questions and shall not venture far in the uncertain sea of prophecy.

The student of American history since the Civil War, and especially in the last decade, seeing the sweep and power of the nationalizing movement, may readily agree with Secretary Root that "our whole life has swung away from old state centers, and is crystallizing about national centers." From this it might also be assumed that sectionalism is passing away with the decline of the state. But the state has shown marked vitality since these words of Mr. Root, and, in fact, history does not justify us in laying so much stress upon the state as the anti-national factor in our development. From the point of view of constitutional law and the division of legislative functions, the rôle of the state has, of course, been highly important. But, after all, the deepest significance of state resistance to the nationalizing process has lain in the fact that state sovereignty was the sword wielded by sectionalism. It is because the state was one of a group with common interests menaced by federal action that its protests had power. When we look at underlying forces of economic and social life, and at the distribution of political power in the Union, we find that sectionalism antedated nationalism, that it has endured, though often concealed by our political forms, through the whole of our history, and that it is far from certain that it would

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the American Sociological Society, Madison, December 28, 1907.

pass away though the state should be extinguished; indeed it might gather new vitality and power from such an event.

There are degrees of sectionalism, varying from that exhibited in the struggle of North against South over the slavery issue, culminating in war between the sections, to the lesser manifestations of resistance to national homogeneity and to the power of a national majority. I shall recognize as tests of sectionalism all of those methods by which a given area resists national uniformity, whether by mere opposition in public opinion on the part of a considerable area, or by formal protest, or by combining its votes in Congress and in presidential elections; and also those manifestations of economic and social separateness involved in the existence in a given region of a set of fundamental assumptions, a mental and emotional attitude which segregates the section from other sections, or from the nation as a whole. Sooner or later such sectional influences find expression in politics and legislation and they are even potential bases for forcible resistance.

Geographical conditions and the stocks from which the people sprang are the most fundamental factors in shaping sectionalism. Of these the geographical influence is peculiarly important in forming a society like that of the United States, for it includes in its influence those factors of economic interests, as well as environmental conditions that affect the psychology of a people.

The United States is imperial in area. If we lay a map of Europe upon a map of the United States constructed to the same scale, the western coast of Spain would coincide with the coast of southern California; Constantinople would rest near Charleston, South Carolina; Sicily near New Orleans; and the southern coast of the Baltic would fall in line with the southern coast of Lake Superior. Thus, in size the United States is comparable not with a single nation of Europe, but with all of Europe, exclusive of Russia. It is also comparable with Europe in the fact that it is made up of separate geographic provinces, each capable in size, resources, and peculiarities of physical conditions to be the abode of a European nation, or of several nations. American history is in large measure still colonial history—the history of the exploration, conquest, colonization, and development of these

physiographic provinces, and the beginnings of a process of adaptation of society to the section which it has occupied. The movement is too new, too incomplete, to allow us to affirm that the influences of diverse physical sections have as yet worked out their effects upon the American nation.

American society has spread westward into the wilderness. It has shown a sectionalism arising from the opposition of interests between the outer edge of this advance where nature reduced man to the primitive conditions of the frontier, and the older areas of occupation where social development had progressed farther. The sectionalism of East and West has been a migrating sectionalism in American history, for regions once typically western have later under a process of assimilation become characteristically eastern with all the phenomena of complex and developed society, economic and social. Thus the sectionalism due to the movement of American settlement into the wilderness is a declining sectionalism. It is by no means in immediate prospect of extinction and in view of the persistent effects of social habits and ideals this process will be influential as a sectional influence long after the westward movement of American society itself has ceased.

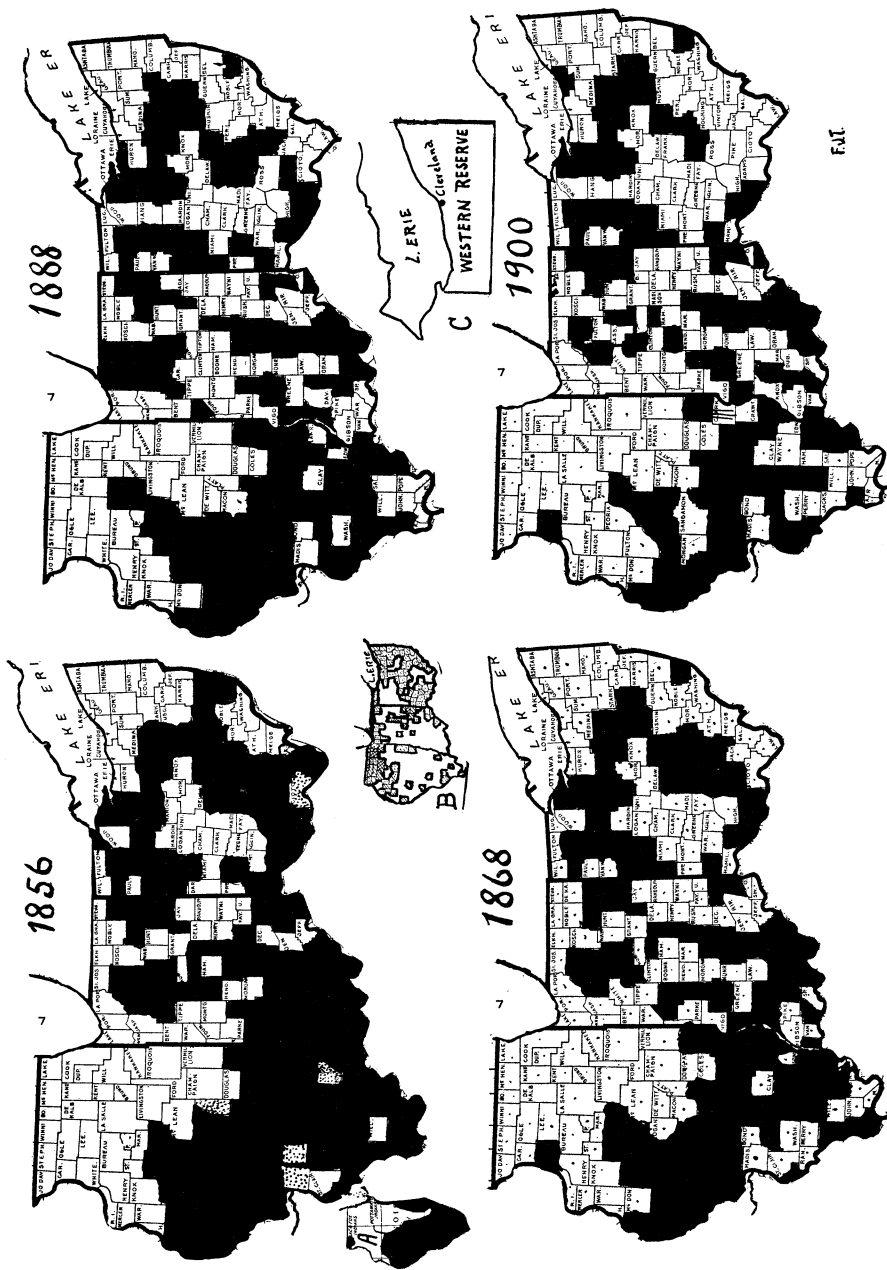
But, in the long run, as American society loses the mobility stimulated by the artificial and transient opportunities of free land and the demand for labor in sparsely occupied areas, the sectionalism due to physiographic conditions, economic interests, and constituent stocks of settled societies will persist, if sectionalism persists at all.

How far have these factors already produced sections in the United States, and how far have these sections given way to a movement of national uniformity?

Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Thomas Mitchell proposed that the English colonies be divided into northern, middle and southern unions, "three distinct and different countries, separated from one another by natural boundaries; different in situation, climate, soil, products, etc., while the several colonies included in these divisions, which we look upon as separate countries, are all one and the same country in these respects."

This early recognition of these separate colonial divisions, while the settlements were still limited to the seaboard, is significant of the fact that physical conditions and component stock had almost from the beginning produced three coastal sections, New England, the Middle Region, and the South. I shall not take the time to characterize them, nor to point out how their separate economic interests controlled the history of politics and legislation in the later colonial period, the Revolution, the confederation, and the era of the dominance of the federal party. It was only in the presence of superior danger that these mutually repellant groups were drawn into union; only by sectional compromises that they achieved a constitution; only by the fact that the Middle Region was a buffer area, a fighting ground, and consequently afforded an opportunity for breaking the impact of sections and of affording a means of accommodating rival interests and shifting the balance of power, that the union held together in those early years. The fierceness of resistance of the Jeffersonian democracy of South and West, to the federalism of commercial New England, is well known. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions constituted a platform for sectional defense. The equal fierceness of New England federalism's opposition to the triumphant Jeffersonian democracy is equally well known. The Hartford Convention was the expression of the revolt. Parties in this era were distinctly sectional as anyone may see by examining the maps of presidential elections, or of votes in Congress on test issues. The existence of sectional differences between New England, the Middle Region, and the South today will not be denied.

On the whole, however, as capitalistic development has progressed, foreign immigration swarmed in, urban populations widened their influence and absorbed the country places for their playgrounds, and especially as the traditional spiritual faiths and moral convictions tend to pass away, the similarities between New England and the Middle Region tend to increase; while the seaboard South finds itself in continued contrast with these northern sections, but increasingly absorbed into the interior southern section. And yet in spite of the blurring of these old divisional lines, it may well be a question whether New England with its



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS, 1856, 1868, 1888, and 1900.

The Democratic counties are shown in black, the Republican in white.  
 Map A shows in black the settled area of Illinois at the close of the period of southern settlement; it shows also that the South occupied the forested area leaving the prairies to be taken by the northern settlers.  
 Map B shows the Free Soil vote in 1848 after the northern stream began to flow. The area shown is that where the vote was 1 per cent. or more of the total vote.  
 Map C shows the location of the Western (or Connecticut) Reserve in Ohio, a New England area, consistently Republican.

PLATE II (1)

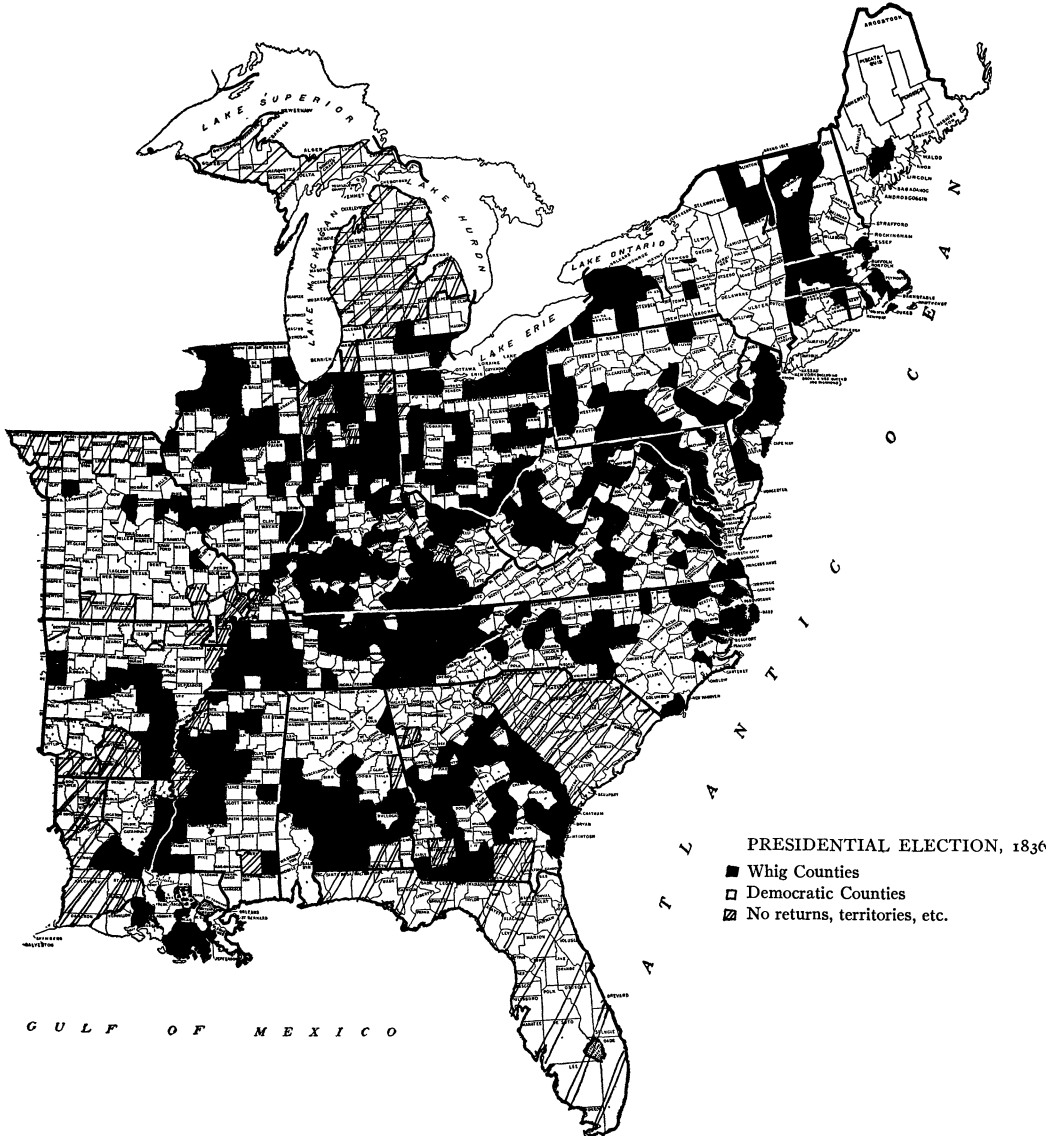
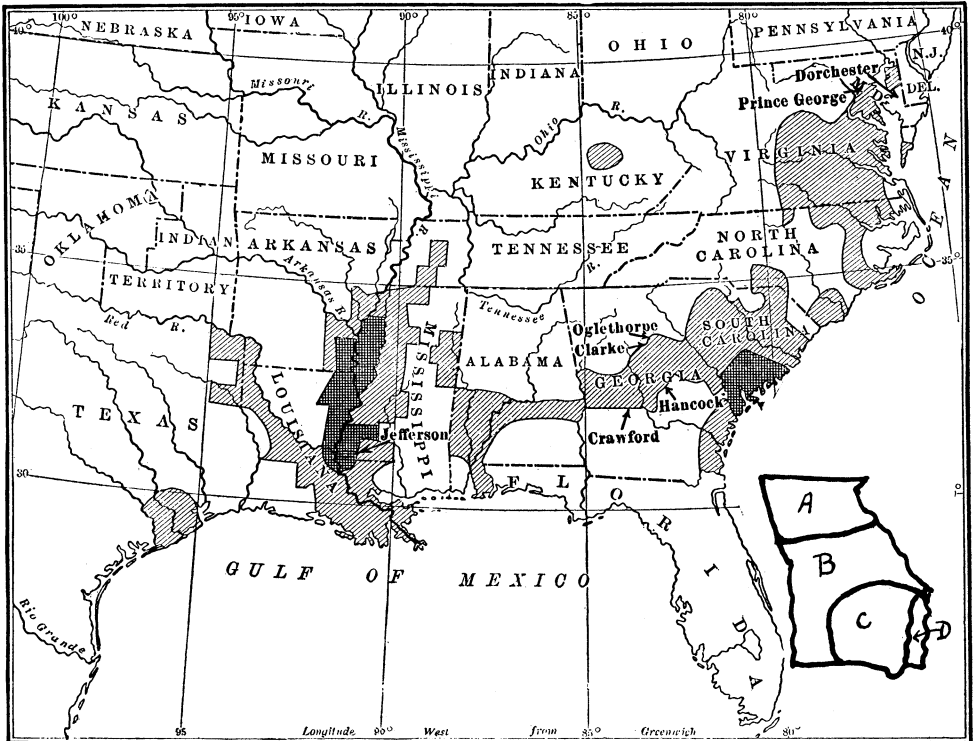


PLATE II (2)

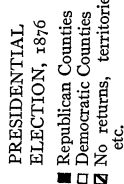


THE BLACK BELTS IN 1850

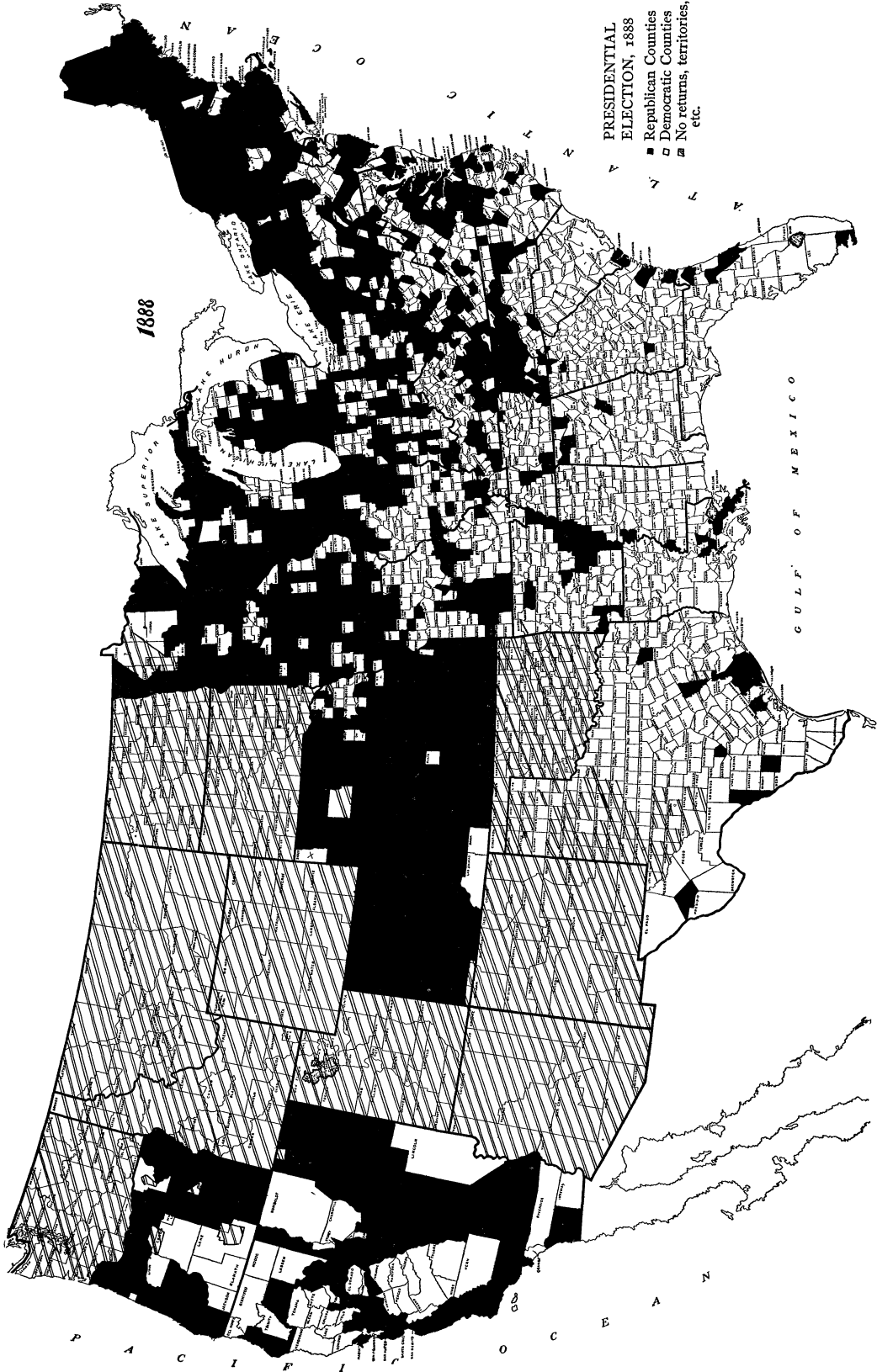
NOTE.—Reproduced from article by Professor U. B. Phillips, in *American Historical Review*, XI, 810. The shaded areas show where the negro equaled or outnumbered the whites; in the darkest they were 75 per cent. of the total population. The sketch map of Georgia at the side shows: (A) Northern Georgia, grain raising; (B) Cotton Belt; (C) Pine Barrens, mixed agriculture; (D) Coast, raising sea-island cotton and rice. See *Report of American Historical Association*, 1901, II, 140. Compare Plate V, *post*.



1876

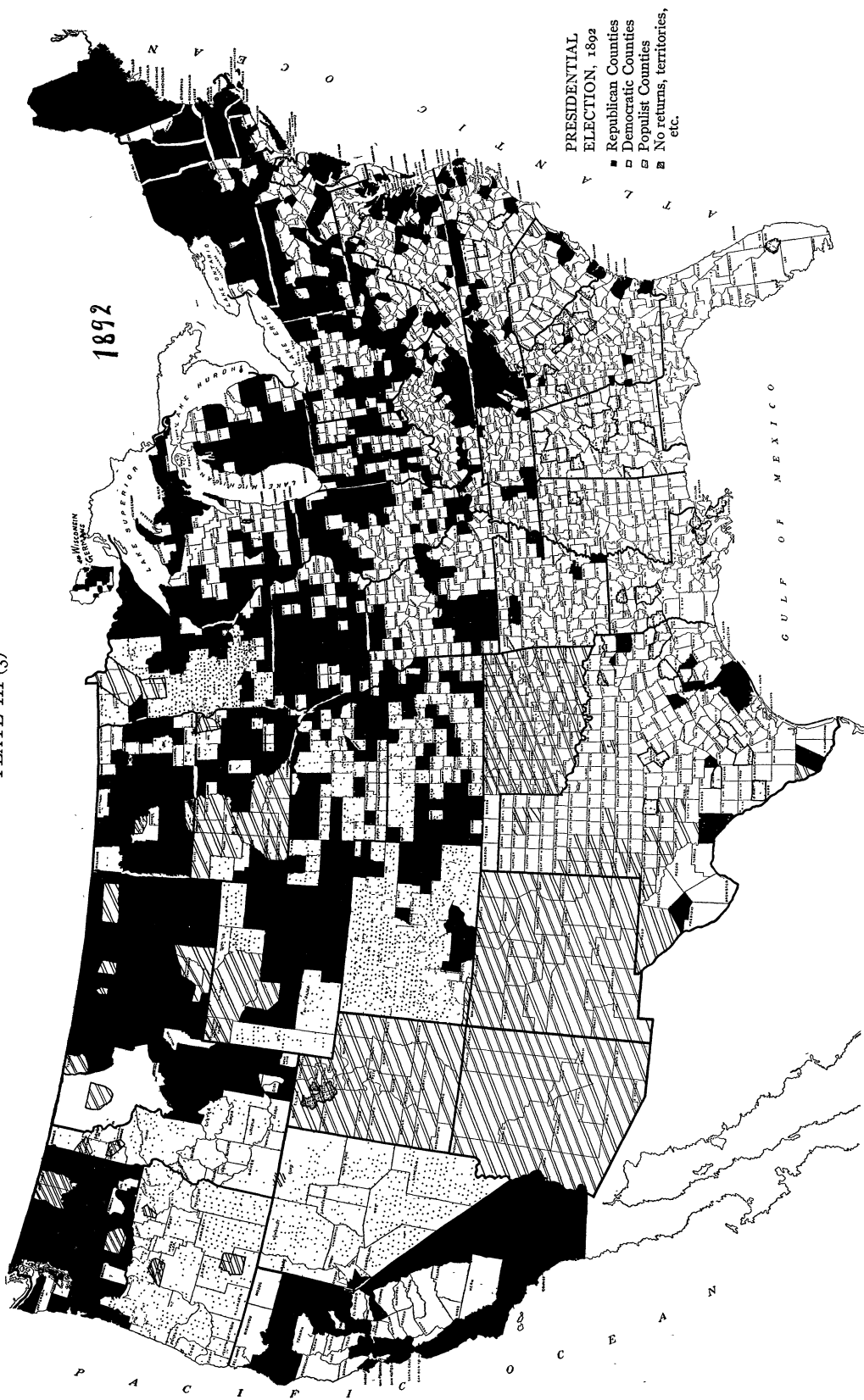


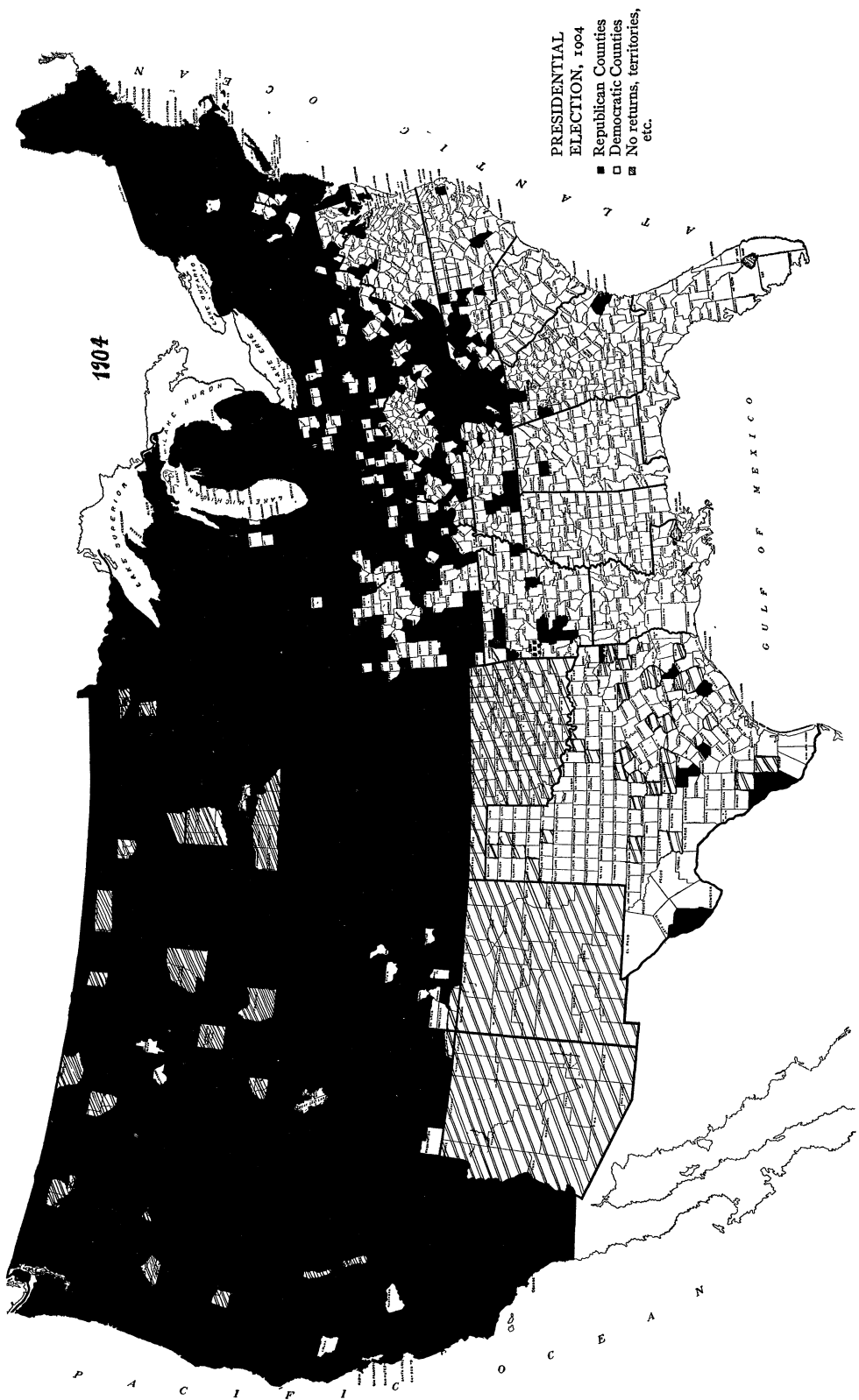
NOTE.—Republican presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in Colorado (50 R, 24 D.).



PRESIDENTIAL  
ELECTION, 1888  
■ Republican Counties  
□ Democratic Counties  
▨ No returns, territories,  
etc.

PLATE III (3)





PACIFIC OCEAN

1904

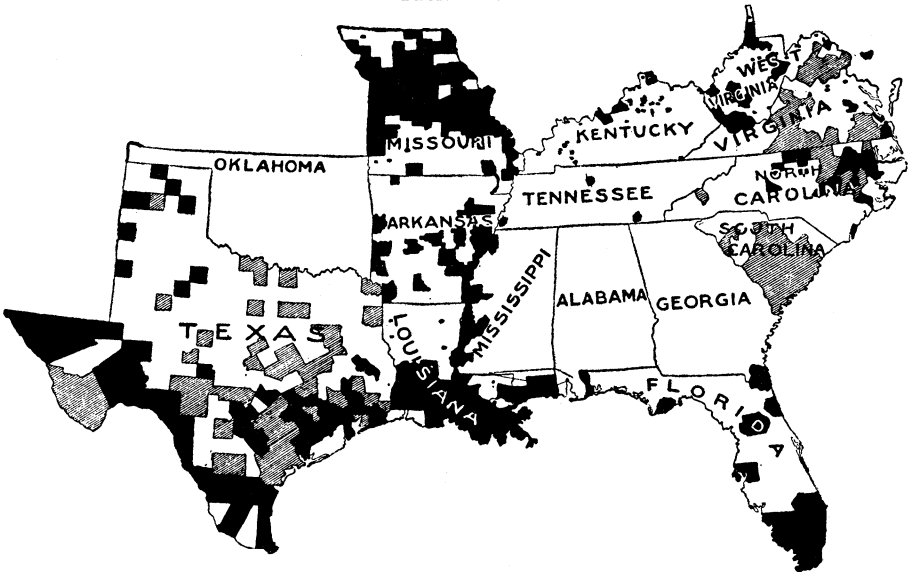
ATLANTIC OCEAN

GULF OF MEXICO

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1904

- Republican Counties
- Democratic Counties
- ▨ No returns, territories, etc.

PLATE IV

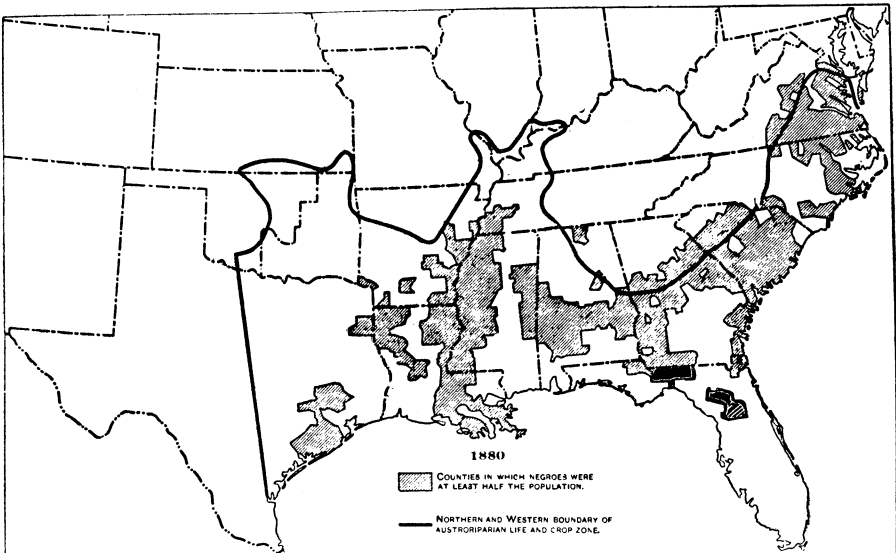


From *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia.

WET AND DRY MAP OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1908

NOTE.—The white sections represent Prohibition territory; black, licensed-saloon territory; shaded, modified-license territory, dispensaries, distilleries, etc., or territory which is partly wet and partly dry. Georgia and Alabama have state prohibition, therefore the areas favoring the saloon do not appear in those states. Compare the election of 1876. For Missouri and Arkansas compare Plate 55, Census Atlas, 1900, showing density of negro population. See the map below.

PLATE V



NOTE.—From Twelfth Census, *Bulletin Number 8*. The map of 1880 does not greatly differ from that of 1900, and it serves also to illustrate the presidential election of 1876 (Plate IV, ante).

only opportunity for sectional expansion in the direction of Canada, with its industrial life threatened by the transit of manufacturing toward the areas of production, might not at some indefinite future find its interests in closer relations with the adjoining Canadian area, and develop a new economic sectionalism under a conceivable political union of Canada and the United States, or of Canada and New England.

I turn from conjecture to ask attention to another type of section, significant because it is concealed by the way in which it lies within, but not identical with, the lines of several different states. There are many such sections which have had real influence upon our history but which the historian with his eyes fixed upon nation and on state has largely overlooked.

The Piedmont Plateau, or upland area of the South reaches from the fall line, behind the old tidewater, southwestward to the Alleghany Mountains, in a long belt running from Pennsylvania to Georgia. It is familiar to the geologist, less so to the historian; and yet important, and illustrative of what is occurring elsewhere at present. Historically, it was closely associated with the Great Valley of Pennsylvania and its continuation, the Shenandoah Valley, as well as with the Alleghany Mountains. The section comprised in these physiographic provinces runs like a peninsula from Pennsylvania southward to the rear of tidewater, until it touches the northern edge of the gulf plains. Cut off from tidewater not only by the falls of the rivers—the head of navigation—but also by a parallel strip of pine barrens through much of its length, this region was in many respects a projection of the Pennsylvania type into the very midst of the South. It was settled in the middle of the eighteenth century largely by migrations from Pennsylvania of Scotch Irish, Germans, and English pioneers, having little contact with, or resemblance at first to, the seaboard life, either economically, politically, or socially. It was the first distinctively western region, non-slave holding, grain and cattle raising, a land of dissenting sects, of primitive democratic conditions, remote from the coast, and finding the connection with Baltimore, Philadelphia, and the Pennsylvania valley, both in spiritual and economic life, more intimate than with the tidewaters of Maryland, Virginia, North

Carolina, and South Carolina, within whose boundary lines it chiefly lay. In every one of these states contests occurred between this up-country and the coast. Indeed the local history of each of these colonies and states in the period from 1750 until about 1830 is perhaps dominated by the antagonisms of the up-country against tidewater. In every one the tidewater minority area, where wealth and slaves preponderated, ruled the more populous primitive interior counties by apportionment of the legislatures so as to secure the effective majority of the representatives. Unjustly taxed, deprived of due participation in government, their rights neglected, they protested, vainly for the most part, in each of these colonies and states. But all this long struggle of a section with definite social and economic unity and separate interests, and with enduring influences upon the history of the interior, must be worked out from fragments in the monographic treatment of the individual states. A whole section was engaged for nearly three generations in a struggle for its interests. Since the section acted in separate states the movement was obscured. But it was the existence of this section that gave Jefferson his power. It produced the men themselves, or the ancestors of Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Abraham Lincoln, and gave to them the traits and the following that made possible their career and their contributions. We can infer the influence of the section as we see the towns for retail trade develop along the fall line at the edge of the Piedmont, gradually relieving the country from direct commercial colonial bondage to England. We note its increasing political power, by such evidences as the advance of the capitals to its eastern edge, as that of Virginia's from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1779; South Carolina's to Columbia in 1790; North Carolina's to Raleigh in 1791, Pennsylvania's to Lancaster in 1799 and to Harrisburg in 1812. From the Piedmont came the men who demanded statehood for the western settlements in the Revolution, basing their demand on the antagonism between their interests and those of the coast.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Compare the author's paper on "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," *American Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp. 70, 251.

The significance of the Piedmont area was diminished when the cotton plant crossed over to the section, bringing slavery with it, in the period from about 1800 to 1830. Just prior to the completion of the ascendancy of slavery over the Piedmont, this section showed a sharp contrast with the tidewater South, in its friendly attitude toward federal internal improvements and tariff and, in general, its responsiveness to loose-construction legislative programmes. Even in the matter of slavery there was a final struggle between this section and the coast in each state for some means of ridding the South of this labor system. The independence of the state of West Virginia is an enduring evidence of the antagonism of interests between the interior and the seaboard, and the attitude of the other mountain districts in the Civil War was a grave disadvantage to the South. Helper's *Impending Crisis* was an exposition of ideas not uncommon in this whole interior section.

The section, however, became far larger than the hill and mountain region of the Piedmont and Alleghany system. As the pioneers of the Piedmont had pushed into Kentucky and Tennessee in the period of the Revolution, so their descendants in the years when slavery was transforming the up-country, moved across the Ohio in great numbers, and up the Missouri and into the northern portions of the gulf plains. The whole area occupied by the non-slave-holding poorer southern pioneers had a community of prejudices, traditions, fundamental assumptions, religious tendencies, ideals, and economic and social interests, and these are still clearly traceable and influential.

In the Mississippi Valley the colonization of different stocks resulted in interesting sectional groupings which may next be considered as a means of illustrating how such groupings affect political history. I have just spoken of the settlement of the southern pioneers in the hilly and forested areas of southern Indiana and Illinois and the similar regions of Missouri. In the Old Northwest this movement continued till it reached the non-forested prairie lands, which were almost untouched by 1830. In the Southwest the same kind of population passed from Kentucky and Tennessee and from the parent Piedmont region into



northern Alabama, eastern Mississippi, and into Arkansas and Texas.

A different stream entered the Northwest about 1830 and continued to flow with little interruption until the Civil War. This stream had its original source in the hill country of western and northern New England. Between 1800 and 1820 colonies of these people occupied central New York and the margin of the Great Lakes in that state and in Ohio, especially in the Connecticut Reserve. A combined New York and New England stream poured into the prairies in the succeeding generation, taking up the work of colonization of the northern Mississippi Valley at the boundary where the southern element had met the prairies and had stopped. Between the settlers of the northern region and those to the south were sharp antagonisms which showed themselves in many ways.

In the Southwest in the same years between 1830 and 1860, the planters entered the Gulf plains in increasing numbers, bringing cotton culture and slavery to this section as they had before brought it to the Piedmont. They sought especially western Georgia and the black soils of central Alabama, and the alluvial lands of the Yazoo district along the Mississippi River. We have thus four zones within the Mississippi Valley: (1) the New England-New York area; (2) the southern settlers north of the Ohio River in free states; (3) the southern settlers in the border area including West Virginia, the hill country of Kentucky and Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas, where slavery was a subordinate element, and (4) the cotton kingdom of the lower South.

I will next ask your attention to these maps <sup>3</sup> which show how clearly party action has reflected the influence of these sectional groupings.

In the first series of maps, Democratic pluralities in presidential elections are shown in black for the counties of the Old Northwest, from 1856 to 1900. It is seen that the New England-New York area, is consistently Republican, and that

<sup>3</sup> See Plate I. The elections chosen are typical. If the whole series were given, the similarity in the sectional subdivisions would be made even more striking.

the southern zone, especially in Illinois, shows Democratic majorities. So clearly marked is this in the latter state that the map might almost serve for one exhibiting the areas of the forests extending like a huge delta along the Illinois River, in contrast with the prairie lands. So deeply seated is political habit that in election after election almost the same party sections are seen in all these states. On the whole, the explanation for this grouping would appear to be that the different stocks followed their different habits; and that psychological tendencies, rather than the physiographic fact of prairie against forest, determined sectional alignment. But the physical conditions determined the location of the stocks, and they continue to exert an influence.

In the next map <sup>4</sup> is to be seen the votes of the Gulf states in the election of 1836 when Van Buren and White were contestants. The relation of the Whig vote to the cotton soils, and consequently to the areas of densest negro settlement and of wealth is obvious and interesting, while the Democratic area is equally striking confirmation of the attitude of the region of the poor whites. In this election the party alignment in the Old Northwest is somewhat confused by the candidacy of Harrison, a favorite son of the section, on the Whig ticket. New England and New York, moreover had not at that time reached Illinois in force.

These maps may be taken as typical. In all elections in the United States clearly marked sections appear.<sup>5</sup> For the most part there is a tendency for similar sections to reappear through long periods. The subsections, if I may use the term, appearing within the larger sections, are limitations upon the unity and permanence of sectional existence. The majorities are but slight as a rule, and are therefore in danger of reversal. But the existence of these heterogeneous subsections renders the section as a whole less stable and its action less inevitable except in cases where unusual issues arise, stirring up moral stimuli or direct interests. As a rule, party discipline is sufficient to exercise a desectionalizing and restraining influence because the party fol-

<sup>4</sup> See Plate II.

<sup>5</sup> See maps for 1876, 1888, 1892, and 1904, in Plates III, (1), (2), (3), (4).

lowing is, as Professor Giddings<sup>6</sup> has pointed out, made up of varied and more or less antagonistic groups held together by adjustments of interests and the party must therefore avoid extreme policies if it would hold its majority together. Were parties, however, broken into numerous small factions, as they may be in the future, each representing special interests, the shock of opposing sections might be more direct and obvious.<sup>7</sup>

Next let us observe the physiographic areas of the Mississippi Valley. In many respects the region is a single section in economic interests and in the traits of the people. It is a region certain to have a profound influence, for it could hold many European nations, and it is credited with being capable of sustaining a population of three hundred million souls. Physiographers divide this empire into the lake plains, prairie plains, gulf plains, Ozark Mountains, and great plains. Historically the lake and prairie plains (roughly, the north central group of states) have had a community of experience and influence, while the men of the gulf plains have been for the most part rivals, and for a brief period bitter foes of the men of the lake and prairie plains. Part of this opposition is the result of climatic contrasts, part of it is the secondary result of differences in economic interests, but the most of it arises from the presence of the negro as a governing consideration in politics, industry, and social structure.

In the course of this rivalry the New York-New England element of the North, aided by German immigrants, established its control over the section of the lake and prairie plains. It made alliances, in economic life, politics, and education, literature, and religion with the Middle Region, especially with western New York, and with New England. Railroads extending across

<sup>6</sup> "Conduct of Political Majorities," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 116; see also his *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 285, 293.

<sup>7</sup> On the conflict of interests as a fundamental process in social development see Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 209, 248, 280, 282, 305, 307; A. L. Lowell, *Report of American Historical Association*, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 321, shows that party voting in legislation is less common than is popularly supposed; A. Johnson, *Yale Review*, November, 1906, points out the nationalizing tendency of party organization.

the same zone broke the ascendancy previously exercised by the Mississippi as the avenue of transportation for the lake and prairie plains, and the Ohio valley. A section of mutually interdependent states was established in the North at the same time that similar relations bound together the various sections of the South. The Civil War followed and the men of the lake and prairie plains controlled the government while they fought the men of the gulf plains for the possession of the Mississippi Valley and the preservation of the Union.

The survivals of this sectionalism between North and South seem slowly to be giving way. But the negro is still the problem of the South and while he remains there will be a southern sectionalism.<sup>8</sup> If the negro were removed, it seems not unlikely that the unity of the Mississippi Valley would once more have free play in presenting common interests in the greatest of all our sectional areas. Such a movement as that lately promoted by President Roosevelt in favor of a vast system of internal improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries and their connection with the Great Lakes, taken together with the effect of the Panama Canal in building up the Gulf ports would tend to restore the old significance of the Mississippi and the railroads parallel to it as trunk lines, and it would so emphasize the natural unity of the valley, and so press forward its interests in national appropriations, that the remoter outcome might be a new sectionalism over an area vaster than any previous section. Such a section, however, would in truth be the nation; and the Atlantic and Pacific coasts would then constitute peripheral sections. While the negro problem exists it is doubtful whether transportation and commercial interests alone can give the Mississippi Valley a sectional consciousness, though they are certain to create sectional alignments in congressional votes upon appropriations.

Other great sections must be considered in estimating the permanency of sectionalism. The Pacific coast is so obviously isolated by the mere fact of distance from the regions which permit dense settlement, as well as by the barrier of mountains

<sup>8</sup> Compare maps in Plates III, etc., for evidence of the persistence of the negro as a sectionalizing force.

and deserts, that a sectional attitude may be expected to increase rather than diminish there as society settles to stable conditions in the United States. More important even than this, perhaps, is the Asiatic problem. Fronting the Orient, the coast is certain to develop its separate point of view in reference to the problems of the Pacific Ocean, oriental trade, and oriental immigration. What the negro is to the South, as a sectionalizing influence, that the Mongolian stock is to the Pacific coast. On race issues the two sections may form political alliances and thus strengthen the resistance of each to what may be the tendency of national legislation and diplomacy. If the nation in the interest of its foreign relations should attempt to impose upon the Pacific coast a policy of the open door to oriental immigration, the sectionalism of that province would show no signs of dying out. However, in many respects, industrially, commercially, socially, as well as geographically, the Pacific coast is itself divided into sections, more or less inharmonious. But there is a distinct tendency to draw together in intellectual life. Such organizations as the Pacific coast branch of the Historical Association has a sectional significance as well as a national aspect.

Passing over other extensive natural sections of the West, such as the region known as the Inland Empire of the far Northwest, with its sectional self-consciousness, shown in trade relations, educational and religious conventions, and so on, I wish to allude to the important bearing upon American sectionalism of the Arid Region. The activity of the federal government in the reclamation service is a striking illustration of how old individualistic principles and the *laissez-faire* conception of the government may give way to a semi-socialistic policy. The general government as land owner has become, for the vast spaces of the arid region, the builder of huge irrigation works. By the conditions on which it disposes of the land and the water privileges, it preserves a parental control over the social and economic conditions of the section. It owns and operates quarries and coal mines for its uses. It experiments with new crops, tells the farmers what and when and how to plant, and even contemplates the

rental of the surplus water and steam power generated by and for irrigation uses, for the purposes of manufactures.

This aspect of sectionalism is, however, an illustration of how sectional conditions may affect a national transformation and increase national power, rather than the reverse. Its bearing upon the possible production of sectional resistance to these new national tendencies on the part of the older regions, where capitalistic exploitation has had such important power in shaping national action, is obvious. Just as the eastern section of wealth and commercial and manufacturing interests today resents the present policy of the administration in economic matters, so, later, the development of national power in dealing with the arid area and the Mississippi system is certain to produce sectional reaction in those older regions that have formerly shaped nationalism.

The nationalizing tendencies are at the present time clearly in evidence. The control of great industries has passed to a striking extent into the hands of corporations or trusts, operating on a national basis and centered in a few hands. Banking and transportation systems show the same tendency to consolidation. Cities are growing at a rate disproportioned to the increase of general population, and their numerical growth is only a partial index of their influence upon the thought as well as the economic life of the country. On the whole, in spite of rivalry, the business world of these cities tends to act nationally and to promote national homogeneity. The labor organizations are national in their scope and purposes. Newspapers, telegraph, post-office, all the agencies of intercourse and the formation of thought tend toward national uniformity and national consciousness. The co-operative publication of news furnished by national agencies, the existence of common ownership and editorial conduct of chains of newspapers, all tend to produce simultaneous formation of a national public opinion. In general, the forces of civilization are working toward uniformity. Even the religious life and organization take on the national form.

Nevertheless, I, for one, am not ready to believe that it is clear that sectionalism is to die out. To take the matter of transportation as an illustration: any attempt at political control of

rates by direct national legislation would produce injustice to some sections and undue advantages to others. Sectional alliances and conflicts would appear in congressional votes. If, on the other hand, such transportation control is left in the hands of a board, either the board will recognize the existence of sectional necessities on some basis of justice—not easy to find—or it will itself reflect sectional combinations to the disadvantage and exploitation of the minority section. The factor of distance from a market, as well as the factor of a sectional distribution of crops and other economic activities, will always tend to produce sectional diversities and conflicting interests in the vast area of complex geographical provinces which makes up the United States. It will be many years before the sectional distribution of the stocks, with inherited customs, institutions, and ways of looking at the world, will cease to be reflected in the sectional manifestation of public opinion and in the sectional distribution of votes in Congress.

The sectional influence in the selection of the president is a case in point. As economic and political power passes from section to section, the presidency has in the past tended to fall to the area of greatest energy and power. Thus the era of commercial influence of the Northeast saw the presidencies of the two Adams. But the rival, and for the most part dominant, influence of the agricultural section led by Virginia brought in the rule of the Virginia dynasty. The transition of power to the trans-Alleghany lands witnessed a struggle between Clay, of Kentucky, and such Tennessee leaders as Jackson, White, and Polk for leadership of these lands. There was a distinct era of influence of these two states exercised through their widespread colonies in the West, when Benton, Grundy, Bell, and others had the reigns of government. The transition of power to the cotton kingdom was marked by a tendency on the part of the leaders of that section to select northern men to serve their purpose; but the real center of power was in the lower South in the decade before the war. The war and the period immediately following showed the passage of political energy to the Old Northwest, whence came Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, and McKinley,

and a host of other leaders in the cabinet and in Congress. More recently the formation of a new sectional influence is shown in the importance of the movements led by Bryan and by Roosevelt, who is deeply affected in his point of view by his sojourn in the newer lands of the trans-Mississippi West. So it is likely to continue. The sectionalism that continues to shape political action underneath the forms of nationalism is not dying out.

In conclusion, divesting myself of the historical mantle, in order to venture upon the rôle of prophet, I make the suggestion that as the nation reaches a more stable equilibrium, a more settled state of society, with denser populations pressing upon the means of existence, with this population no longer migratory, the influence of the diverse physiographic provinces which make up the nation will become more marked. They will exercise sectionalizing influences, tending to mold society to their separate conditions, in spite of all the countervailing tendencies toward national uniformity. National action will be forced to recognize and adjust itself to these conflicting sectional interests. The more the nation is organized on the principle of direct majority rule, and consolidation, the more sectional resistance is likely to manifest itself. Statesmen in the future, as in the past,<sup>9</sup> will achieve their leadership by voicing the interests and ideas of the sections, which have shaped these leaders, and they will exert their influence nationally by making combinations between sections, and by accommodating their policy to the needs of such alliances. Congressional legislation will be shaped by compromises and combinations, which will in effect be treaties between rival sections, and the real federal aspect of our government will lie not in the relation of state and nation but in the relation of section and nation.

<sup>9</sup> By way of illustration, reference may be made to my *Rise of the New West* ("American Nation," Vol. XIV), wherein I have attempted to exhibit the play of sectional forces in the period 1820 to 1830.

[*The discussion of this paper will appear in the May number.*]